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THE EFFECT OF A SCHOOL CAMP EXPERIENCE ON FRIENDSHIP CHOICES¹

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School camping in most school programs is justified by its peculiar contributions to children's learning about life in the out-of-doors, science, and conservation. Other reasons given for school camping include extending children's interests, providing motivation for learning in the regular school subjects, broadening children's experimental background, and offering a stimulating experience in social living (1, pp. 1-2; 3; 4; 9).

Evaluation of the goals of school camping is difficult. Most descriptions of school camp programs indicate various attempts at evaluation; almost always, examples of children's, parents', and teachers' statements of the values of the experience form a substantial portion of the evaluation (2, 5, 6). Few objective measures of learning or of the extent goals were attained have been used. In the area of social living, sociometric instruments and statements by children and adults have been reported (1, pp. 36-37; 2, pp. 11-12; 9). An increase in the number of friends has been cited as a value of school camping. Also, some advocates of school camping state that these programs provide opportunities to demonstrate leadership for children who formerly have not had these opportunities. However, the interpretation of the results obtained with the sociometric devices have been reported in subjective terms. The present study was designed to provide some objective data about the effect of the school camp situation on friendship choices. The hypothesis tested was:

After an experience of social living at a school camp, there will be an increase in the number of times children are chosen as friends by their classmates.

¹ The writer wishes to thank Professor Susan Gray, Department of Psychology, George Peabody College for Teachers, for her valuable suggestions and assistance throughout the course of this study.

Further, this hypothesis was tested by treatment of data for boys and girls separately. Most of the subjects were thirteen years old. At this age, boys and girls often exhibit relatively mature behavior. However, on occasions, many behave characteristically, as pre-adolescents, i.e., making a clear distinction between sexes by refusing to play together, preferring to work separately, and by taking antagonistic actions toward the opposite sex. At thirteen, boys appear to take a kind of neutral attitude toward girls; girls demonstrate a rising interest in boys but do not choose a boy as a best friend or companion for most activities. Because of the general sex differences apparent at this age, treatment of boys and girls separately seemed desirable.

PROCEDURE

The Sociometric Device

An inventory of children's friendship choices was devised. Entitled "Who Would You Choose?" the form listed ten open-ended questions which related to various types of school camp activities. The questions were developed after careful consideration of the activities planned for a school camp at which the class to be studied was scheduled to attend. Items were assigned positions on the final form by the use of a table of random numbers. The ten questions, listed in the order of their appearance on the "Who Would You Choose?" form, are:

1. Which of your classmates would you choose to engage in a leisure-time activity with you?
2. Which of your classmates would you choose to be your tent-mate on a sleep-out?
3. Which of your classmates would you choose to invite to a cabin party?
4. Which of your classmates would you choose to be on your side in a team game?
5. Which of your classmates would you choose to help you plan and direct recreation for a night program (such as skits, singsong, etc.)?
6. Which of your classmates would you choose to clean a cabin with you?
7. Which of your classmates would you choose to help you cook and wash dishes for a day?
8. Which of your classmates would you choose to go with you on a nature study hike?
9. Which of your classmates would you choose to be in your cabin group?

10. Which of your classmates would you choose to go on a cook-out with you?

Unlimited choice was given the children in choosing their classmates. Scores were obtained on all questions separately and for the inventory as a whole. A child's score was the number of times he was chosen by his classmates on the particular question or for the test as a whole. The test was administered first during the week prior to the class' leaving for camp. It was readministered during the week following the return from camp. Table 1 shows the means and standard deviations of the number of choices received on each item of both administrations of the inventory for boys and girls separately. Means

TABLE I

Means and Standard Deviations for Total Number of Choices of Pre-Camp and Post-Camp Administrations of "Who Would You Choose?" Inventory

Question	Pre-Camp		Post-Camp		Pre-Camp		Post-Camp	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
1.	4.75	2.59	4.94	2.09	5.00	2.12	5.81	3.28
2.	1.88	1.58	2.75	1.64	3.69	2.14	3.69	1.79
3.	6.25	3.70	7.56	4.17	4.94	3.03	5.94	3.33
4.	6.44	4.99	7.81	5.36	4.38	2.85	4.00	1.84
5.	3.62	2.83	4.06	3.11	4.38	3.55	4.44	3.39
6.	3.19	1.91	3.69	1.55	4.25	1.78	5.62	2.26
7.	2.44	1.46	3.44	1.66	3.69	2.34	3.75	2.32
8.	4.56	4.46	6.00	5.21	3.12	2.11	3.44	1.97
9.	4.31	1.99	4.62	1.87	5.81	1.51	6.88	2.55
10.	4.81	2.81	6.31	3.08	3.38	2.26	4.75	2.56

and standard deviations of the total number of choices received by boys, girls, and the entire class on both administrations of the inventory are presented in Table 2. While no attempt was made to check the reliability of the "Who Would You Choose?" inventory, socio-metric and reputation type data are generally quite stable (10).

Subjects

Subjects were all pupils enrolled in the eighth grade of a campus laboratory school in the Spring, 1957, a total of 16 boys and 16 girls. The composition of this class has remained unchanged throughout the year. Approximately one-third of the children has been in the same group since entering first grade. Seven children were new-

comers to the group that school year. The children, were, on the whole, from an upper-middle class population.

TABLE II

Means and Standard Deviations for Total Number of Choices Received on Pre-Camp and Post-Camp Administrations of "Who Would You Choose?" Inventory

Class Group	Pre-Camp		Post-Camp	
	M	SD	M	SD
Boys	42.25	20.58	51.25	22.20
Girls	42.62	19.63	48.31	21.71
Total Class	42.44	20.10	49.78	21.71

A school camp at this laboratory school has been conducted as a regular and integral part of the eighth grade's program for ten years. The camp program was based on a sound philosophy of outdoor education (3; 7). For this year's camp, planning began in the Fall Quarter, but intensive plans were not begun until March. The class helped set its goals and plan its activities for the ten-day camp session. One of the objectives ranked high for the class was "To make new friends and to get to know each other better." The regular classroom teacher was the camp director. Additional adult counsellors were composed of the class' student teachers for the quarter and other senior-college and graduate students.

One member of the class, a girl, did not attend the school camp.

RESULTS

To test the hypothesis of this study, data obtained from the pre- and post-tests were analyzed by the sign test (8, pp. 68-75). Since the hypothesis was directional in nature, a one-tailed test was used. The 5 per cent level of significance was used throughout.

Using total number of times chosen for each item on both tests, the hypothesis was accepted:

As a class, the children were chosen more times after camp than before camp (26+, 5-; $p < .00005$).

Boys received more choices after camp than before (13+, 2-; $p = .004$).

Girls received more choices after camp than before (13+, 3-; $p = .018$).

Each question was analyzed separately as further tests of dispersion of friendship choices after the school camp experience. The

analyses revealed that the children were chosen significantly more after camp on only four individual questions, i.e., those asking for choices 1) to engage in a leisure-time activity (17+, 6—; $p=.017$, 3) to invite to a cabin party (20+, 6—; $p=.005$), 6) to clean a cabin (19+, 9—; $p=.04$), and 10) to go on a cook-out (22+, 4—; $p=.0005$).

Boys, however, were chosen significantly more after camp on six of the questions: 2) to be a tent-mate on a sleep-out ($p=.033$), 3) to be invited to a cabin party ($p=.029$), 4) to be on one's side in a team game ($p=.046$), 7) to help one cook and wash dishes for a day ($p=.046$), 8) to be a companion on a nature study hike ($p=.033$), and 10) to go on a cook-out ($p=.029$).

On only one question, number 10, were girls chosen significantly more times after camp than before ($p=.003$).

The ten questions on the "Who Would You Choose?" inventory were divided into two classes: bisexual, that is, where choice was not limited to the same sex as the respondent by the nature of the activity, and unisexual, where the choice was limited to the sex of the respondent by the nature of the activity. There were three unisexual items (numbers 2, 6, and 9). The remaining were bisexual. A descriptive analysis of the cross-sex choices on this latter classification and a generalization regarding camp activities relating to each question follow.

Question 1. No boys and only three girls chose classmates of the opposite sex before camp "to engage in a leisure-time activity with you." On the final inventory, three boys chose girls and six girls chose boys. Leisure time was provided each day after lunch and before supper at which time the class was encouraged to engage in activities such as fishing, loafing, and non-strenuous games.

Question 3. Five boys chose girls and ten girls chose boys on this item, "to invite to a cabin party", before camp. Six additional boys chose girls and four additional girls chose boys after camp. Only two girls did not choose a boy, whereas five boys did not choose a girl after camp. During the camp, several occasions permitted invitations by girls and boys to parties.

Question 4. No boy chose a girl either before or after camp "to be on your side in a team game." Girls chose boys frequently on both administrations of the inventory. Yet, during the camp, most of the girls and most of the boys participated together in team games and "choosing sides" was a feature of almost every recreation period. Girls were not automatically chosen after all boys during these games.

Question 5. Only three boys chose girls before and after camp "to help you and plan and direct recreation for a night program." Nine girls selected boys before camp and eight girls chose boys after camp. Throughout the camp session, boys and girls worked together voluntarily on this activity.

Question 7. No girl chose a boy before camp but six chose boys after camp "to help you cook and wash dishes for a day." Four boys initially chose girls but only three selected girls after camp for this activity. A team of three, including at least one boy and one girl, performed this necessary camp duty each day during camp.

Question 8. Only one boy chose girls before camp "to go with you on a nature study hike" and only two chose girls for this activity following camp. Nine girls chose boys initially, whereas all girls chose boys after camp. Approximately equal numbers of boys and girls comprised study groups at camp and the camp staff observed boys and girls going together frequently on nature study hikes (to the river to fish, to the quarry for fossils, to the woods for butterflies, etc.).

Question 10. No boy chose a girl initially "to go on a cook-out with you" and only three boys selected girls after camp. Six girls chose boys before camp and eleven chose boys after camp on this item. During the camp session, there were two scheduled "cook-outs" on which occasions opportunities for choice of group composition existed.

No statistical significance is attached to these descriptions of cross-six choices on the sociometric instrument employed in this study.

DISCUSSION

The results of this study bear out the contention that friendships in a participating class are affected significantly by a school camp experience. After camp, more children were named as friends than named before camp. Such a fact is encouraging in that it substantiates opinions expressed by educators and children who have engaged in school camping projects. Pupils in the class studied here indicated on a self-evaluation form that they had made new friends at camp. Several parents commented to the class teacher that their children seemed to "like" more of their classmates and/or more classmates seemed to "like" their child than before camp. The goal of better human relations was apparently achieved in this particular school activity. Another indication of this was that children significantly chose more of their classmates after camp than they did before camp ($p=.004$). Boys chose more of their classmates after camp ($p=.038$), as did girls in the class ($p=.011$). This evidence may be viewed as

indicative of increased "good feeling" within the group, yet it further demonstrates that friendships were widened.

A possible source of contamination of the data arose from the fact that the teacher and class discussed its goals for camp in the pre-camp planning and one of the goals selected was that of making new and better friends. This fact may have prejudiced the results in that the children may have felt they had to report more friends after camp to prove that camp had been successful to them.

Friendship choices were more diffused following the camp period, but was the basic pattern changed which already was established in the class? To suggest a possible answer to this vexing question, Spearman rank-order correlation coefficients (8, pp. 202-213) were calculated for the results of the two administrations of the inventory. Obtained correlations of .78 for the boys, .64 for the girls, and .80 for the class as a unit, all significant beyond the .01 level of significance, indicate a rather high similarity in the results of the two administrations. Thus, while some children "lost" friends and most pupils "gained" friends, the basic friendship pattern of the class may not seriously have been altered during the school camp period. While the school camp may not have had a marked effect upon the basic friendship structure of the class, it apparently did afford opportunities for a widening of friendships.

Reductions in the number of stars and isolates in a class is often indicative of dispersion of friendship choices. Stars and isolates in the class were selected by an impartial referee after the total nominations for each S on each administration of the inventory were ranked in a frequency distribution. Four Ss, having received from 79-71 choices before camp, were named as stars. After camp, seven pupils received more than 71 nominations but, only four were named as stars, having received 80 or more choices. Two of the four post-camp stars were ones identified before camp. The two new after-camp stars were ranked fifth and seventh (67 and 61 nominations, respectively) in the class before camp. The two before-camp stars who failed to maintain this status after camp were ranked fifth and sixth on the final tabulation and received 77 and 74 nominations respectively, more essential. In this paper we raise a few questions and review some pertinent data only on extent and type of differences among students.

An interest in diversity at some levels of schooling has a long history in American Education. Much attention and study have been concentrated on all kinds of exceptional children in the elementary school years, and an increasing emphasis is being given to the education of the talented and superior in both the elementary and secondary

choices than they received before camp. Thus, data about stars are not conclusive; apparently the school camp experience had the effect of re-shuffling the relative order of the most popular children, but not radically.

Three children, all boys, were identified as isolates before camp. They received only 6-8 nominations each and were ranked 30-12 in the class. After camp, two of these boys were still classed as isolates, having been chosen 7 and 12 times, still ranking 31st and 32nd in the class. The pre-camp isolate not so identified following camp still ranked 14th among the boys, his pre-camp position, and 28th in the class. Like data about the stars, that concerning isolates are inconclusive. The camp was probably not such a significant social experience to disturb the long-set pattern of behavior of the isolates in the group nor the attitudes of the class toward the isolates.

The one S, a girl, who did not attend school camp received 48 nominations before camp, ranking 13.5 in the class and 6.5 among the girls. After camp, she was chosen only 27 times and ranked 26.5 in the class and 14th among the girls. Only those girls who were this S's best friends during the year chose her after camp. No S changed position within the class as much as this girl did.

An analysis of the responses to the questions on the inventory is very interesting. Boys tended to perceive the situations in which friendship choices were to be made in this study as unisexual. Girls, while present at camp and while they participated in these activities by choice of the boys, were not selected extensively in the test situation by boys. Since girls did receive more nominations over-all after camp than before, they may have chosen each other more often. While boys received more choices over-all and on six of the questions separately, and while girls seemed to choose boys more often after camp, girls' choices cannot be given credit for the increase in the boys' post-camp nominations. Further generalizations about cross-sex choices in school camp situations must await evidence from future research. Observations from the discussion here might profitably be used as hypotheses for such study.

While the school camp had the effect of widening friendships in the class studied, this fact does not, in itself, justify a school camping program. The major goals of the school camp are identical to those of the regular school curriculum. The learning environment and the materials of instruction at camp differ. Yet, to know that friendships have been widened through a school camp experience is an important fact, for such a climate of feelings seems conducive to the realization of the major aims of instruction.

No evidence is presented to indicate that changes in friendship choices as a result of a school camp experience are greater or less than those occurring as a result of other school activities.

SUMMARY

Friendship choices of an eighth grade class before and after a school camp experience were studied.

Friendships within the class were more diffused after camp. Considered separately, boys and girls were both chosen more times after camp than before. Boys were chosen more times after camp than before on six items of the sociometric inventory while girls were chosen more times after camp than before on only one item.

Hypotheses for subsequent investigation are suggested.

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RELIGION AND RELIGIOSITY IN AMERICAN JEWISH LIFE

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THE GENERAL RELIGIOUS REVIVAL

The current sharp rise in the fiscal as well as membership figures of American churches and synagogues, indicates that a vast religious expansion has taken place throughout the country. These soaring statistics have led leaders of all faiths to the conclusion that America has become truly "a nation under God", and that this development manifests a deep and growing spirituality among the American people.

Others, however, challenge such an inference. They attribute the religious boom not to a genuine religious interest but to a variety of other factors, primarily social and psychological. They claim that it is due largely to the pattern of conformity and standardization that characterizes middle class suburban society. They regard the movement as child-centered rather than religion-centered — a recognition on the part of parents of the desirability of a religious training for their children, rather than the outcome of pure religiosity or religious conviction. These critics not infrequently credit the religious resurgence, at least in a measure, to the popular notion that religion is a prime essential in a healthy and emotional life; and should be taken by adults as a vitamin pill in regular doses, as one columnist recently described it. For this reason religious observance is said to rank high among the "time and motion" studies of young executives. It is however urged that though this mounting trend may be the result of artificial motivation, it redounds nonetheless to the welfare of the individual and the community.

If we are to exploit to the utmost whatever there is of positive good in this so called religious revival, we must understand its true nature and quality. In this study, however, we shall not undertake to examine the overall religious situation in America. Instead we shall restrict ourselves only to an analysis of the situation in Judaism, which as Will Herberg correctly observed, has achieved an equal place with Protestantism and Catholicism as a major religion in America. This limited inquiry may serve a two fold purpose. It will not only afford us an insight into the status of American Jewish life today, but it may also shed light on the religious picture in the country as a whole.

THE JEWISH RELIGIOUS REVIVAL

As in the Christian world, some Jewish observers too have hailed the recent growth of considerable dimensions in synagogue affiliation, building activity, religious school enrollment and congregational budgets, as a healthy return to religion that augurs well for the advancement of American Jewish life. Others on the contrary, regard it not as the result of a genuine religious enthusiasm, but rather as merely a shallow quantitative upswing of little spiritual significance. In fact one outstanding Jewish leader characterizes this phenomenon not as a "back to the church (or synagogue) movement", but as one "with the back towards the church, but with the front away from it". In the latter event, the increase in synagogue construction, sometimes referred to as "an edifice complex" and a reversion to the "stone age" in Judaism, is hardly more than a surface deep manifestation of outward splendor — the sort of enterprise envisaged in Hosea (8:14) "And when Israel has forgotten his Maker, they built palaces", which cynics translate not as "palaces" but as "Temples", since the same Hebrew noun has both connotations.

To determine the true character and meaning of this religious upsurge, we must probe into the actual facts, and not attempt to appraise it merely on the basis of appearances. Only then shall we be able to gauge its inherent potentialities.

CRITERIA FOR EVALUATION

Perhaps a logical first step is to begin with a definition of the pivotal term "religion"; but the concept of religion, particularly in its application to Judaism, has so many different meanings and nuances, as to make an attempt of this nature impossibly intricate and complex. Practically speaking also, few individuals have a clear and crystallized theology; their religion is replete with beliefs, sentiments and emotions which are difficult to probe. It is much simpler to inquire into a person's outward behavior which is, of course, motivated by inner feelings and drives. Such a procedure lends itself well to the fundamental outlook of Judaism, in which Professor Heschel explains, "we answer God's will in deeds . . . deeds to objectify faith, (and) definite forms to verify belief". For Judaism is a way of life, a regimen of conduct and practice rather than a creed, and the performance of specific religious precepts occupies in it a paramount role. Accordingly, we may be able to assess the degree of the Jewish religious revival largely by the religious behavior of the group and we can utilize as criteria for this purpose, rituals and observances about which there may be substantial agreement. These may well include attendance

at worship, the keeping of the Sabbath and festivals, the pursuit of Torah or Jewish study as a pattern of Jewish living — and at least as far as Orthodox and Conservative Jews are concerned, also adherence to the dietary regulations, which comprise a basic tenet in the religious codes.

FACTS AND FIGURES

To help us in our analysis we shall refer to a report on a study of the backgrounds, observances and opinions on congregational matters, of the leadership in Conservative synagogues. This survey made in 1953 by the United Synagogue in cooperation with the Bureau of Applied Social Research of Columbia University, was based on a national sample consisting of 1787 responses from officers and Board members of 155 congregations out of a total of 9100 individuals canvassed in 443 congregations. The Bureau of Applied Research considered this return of slightly less than 20% of those circularized from only 35% of the congregations invited to participate, "both in terms of the number of questionnaires and the geographic distribution of the returns, as adequate to provide an overall view of the synagogue leadership."

This leadership is economically essentially middle class, 26% having an annual family income ranging from \$6000 to \$10,000; and 23% between \$10-\$15,000. Their secular educational status appears to be very high; 20% possessing a post graduate degree; 20% having graduated from college and 18% having had some college work. Their Jewish training is, however, very meager: 6% were found to be without any formal Jewish education; the same proportion attended a one-day-a-week school; 24% had a tutor or attended a week-day afternoon school for less than four years, while the majority of 54% did so for 4 years or more; only 7% studied in an all-day school for at least a year. As for adolescent Jewish schooling, 60% had none beyond *Bar Mitzvah*;* only 35% claimed any formal Jewish study after *Bar Mitzvah*. Almost the same proportion attended an adult Jewish education course of more than five lectures within the past two years. Jewishly speaking then, it may well be concluded that the leadership of the Conservative synagogues present a case of arrested development and thus reflect the same imbalance between the Jewish and general training prevailing among American Jews today.

What is the outcome of this kind of Jewish training? The study reveals that of the synagogue officers and Board members, 13% cannot follow the Hebrew text of the service; 51% follow but understand very

* i.e., Ritual of confirmation of boys at thirteen.

little of it; a minority — 25% understand “quite a lot”, while only 8% understand all the Hebrew text. Nor is it surprising to find that a mere 24% of this leadership read books or magazines of Jewish interest “quite regularly”; 21% “often but not regularly”; 50% “occasionally”, while 5% “never” read them.

Let us now gauge the attendance of the congregational leadership at the main worship service, held either on Friday evening or Sabbath morning, and compare it with the attendance of the rank and file, as reported in an earlier 1950 study.

<i>General Membership</i>		<i>Leadership (Officers and Board)</i>	
Never attended	7%	Hardly ever	16%
Once in a while	42%	Occasionally	28%
Often	21%	Often	21%
Regular	30%	Quite regularly	35%

The 1950 study indicates that the attendance at the main service in 21% of the congregations responding was less than 50; 36% had between 50-99; 22% between 100-199; 11% between 200-299 and only 10% above 300. Over 50% of the worshippers in 56% of the congregations were women. Accordingly, the synagogue membership has been facetiously described as “Seventh Day Absenteeists”.

As far as participation in the daily minyan¹ is concerned, 20% “never come”; 42% come on Yahrzeit,² Rosh Hodesh³ or special occasions; 22% “occasionally”, 9% “often but not regularly”; a meager 5% come “quite regularly”. Only 13% engage in daily services at home. These statistics justify the surveyors’ conclusion that the “synagogue leadership lead their congregation” in not attending services.

We find an indication of the basic religious drive felt by the Conservative synagogue leadership in the fact that as many as 59% acknowledge that they do not engage in private prayer in addition to formal prayer, and only 37% do.

In the matter of the observance of the dietary laws, it appears that 37% or a little more than 1/3 of the officers and board members of Conservative synagogues have kosher homes; 27% or over 1/4 have “partially” kosher homes, that is, they mix dishes; while 36% stated

¹ The public service held thrice daily in the synagogue.

² The annual anniversary of the death of a parent.

³ The beginning of the new Hebrew month, which is marked by special prayers.

that their homes are not kosher. The ritual of lighting Sabbath candles is observed by 76%, and not observed by 22%*. In 41% of the families kiddush and grace after meals is recited on the Sabbath, not so in the majority or 57%.

The figures for the Conservative Temple leadership are in all likelihood not much different than those for the membership at large. The Talmudic maxim puts it well: "The hyssop succumbs to the conflagration raging among the cedars."

Under the conditions previously described, it does not seem as if the Conservative synagogue plays a vital spiritual role in the lives of its membership. They evidently are concerned more with the synagogue expansion and social activities of the congregation than in its religious phase. They display little interest in Jewish knowledge—and one can hardly be uplifted by ethical principles he does not know, or stirred by Prophetic ideals he has little acquaintance with; and moreover does not take great pains to learn more about.

The Conservative movement constitutes the middle group in the Jewish religious alignment. The Jewish background of Reform Jews and their observance and synagogue attendance are known to be even poorer than those of Conservative Jews. We can well assume that there is more piety among the Orthodox Jews, especially the extreme elements, but as we know from experience, it is not so too widely. Frequently, a synagogue is Orthodox only because of the inclinations of the rabbi, rather than those of the congregation. Religious practice is increasingly left to the rabbi in Orthodox and Conservative congregations; in Reform congregations no appreciable degree of piety is expected even from the rabbi.

SOCIOLOGICAL FACTORS

A configuration of sociological factors, rather than spiritual, have produced the burgeoning movement towards synagogue affiliation.

The post war migration of the enlarged Jewish families from urban Jewish areas to the suburbs has taken on proportions as vast

* The Riverton Study, published in 1957 by the American Jewish Committee, is based on interviews of several hundred Jewish families in "Riverton". "Riverton" is a fictitious name given to an industrial town in the East, with a Jewish population of 8,500 in a total population of 130,000. This study reveals that 31% of the individuals interviewed observe *some* of the dietary laws; they buy kosher meat, but only 8% have two sets of dishes; 31% light candles on Friday night; a mere 22% attend synagogue on other than the High Holy Days. These figures are particularly significant, in light of the fact that 16%, those participating in the study claim to be Orthodox and 43% Conservative. The members of both wings in Judaism are normally expected to adhere to the observances referred to.

as the earlier mass Jewish immigration from abroad. Originally, the suburbs were not congenial to Jewish settlement, because of their ethnic homogeneity, which differed sharply from the ethnic diversity in the cities. There are some 168 metropolitan areas throughout the country with core cities of at least 50,000 population. In the suburbs one cannot take his Jewishness for granted as he has in the urban Jewish neighborhood in which he lived; nor can he lose his identity in the crowd. Moreover, parents are concerned with a Jewish religious education for their younger children and congenial Jewish social surroundings for their older boys and girls. Accordingly, they have no alternative but to join a congregation which offers these facilities. We see further proof of this interest in the fact that suburban Jewish residents frequently organize religious schools and Jewish Centers even before they form a congregation.

Religion, too, has become a symbol of status in the suburbs, among what David Riesman described as the "other directed", middle class Jewish population. This has been particularly true since the old militant anti-religious proletarian elements among the immigrants who were opposed to institutional religion, have all but disappeared from the American Jewish scene. Jews too acculturate with the American middle class, among whom church affiliation has become fashionable. The Riverton Study aptly characterizes this tendency as "congregationalization rather than faith", and "as a ticket of admission to the larger community".

This tendency may also be attributed to Marcus Hansens' theory of the "third generation reaction" which maintains that though the second generation, the children of the immigrants rejected their parents' ethnic and religious interests as foreign, the third generation consisting of the assimilated grandchildren of the same immigrants, secure in their Americanism, have shown a readiness to accept their grandparents' religious heritage, without the cultural component, i.e., the ethnic language and lore. Thus, Hansen explains, that what the sons wished to forget, the grandsons remembered. The grandchildren were accordingly closer spiritually to their grandparents than their parents. This reaction is no doubt compounded with a nostalgic and sentimental ingredient. Aside from these factors there is a groping among Jews as well as Christians for something to fill the void caused by the anxiety and instability of the modern age; the fear of communism and the hydrogen bomb. The church on its part is a stable institution and anchorage fighting the battle of the Lord, as the sworn enemy of godless communism.

But the kind of piety thus engendered became a matter of joining

and dues paying and social location, rather than the product of a genuine religious feeling resulting from a search after the divine purpose of life and the proper relationship of man to his Maker and to his fellow man. The fundamental religious values have been replaced by the goal of success and adjustment. The new religiosity in America, Will Herberg points out in his keen and penetrating analysis of current religious trends, takes the form of a deplorable psychological cult of the "peace of mind" and "count your blessing variety". But true religion is far more than an anodyne; its purpose as taught by the Hebrew prophets and sages is to challenge rather than merely approve or acquiesce in contemporary social practices and doctrines. Biblical heroes like Abraham and Job and the saintly figures of Chassidism, who became living symbols in Judaism, have dared to challenge even God's moral judgments; why should we in our generation hesitate to question man's? Moreover, Judaism cannot reconcile itself to complacency, if it is to remain true to its Messianic ideals.

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THE TEACHER AS AN ACTIVE POLITICAL CAMPAIGNER

John J. Santosuosso and Mary St. John McNally

In the fall of 1955, an inquiry form was designed to assess the attitude of Massachusetts legislators toward teachers and toward teacher political activity, and to assess what legislators felt were their relationships with teachers. One section of the inquiry form concerned the teacher and political clubs.

Legislators believe that teachers should belong to political clubs. Their responses were overwhelmingly in favor of such action.

Legislators do not feel that teachers should refrain from joining political clubs because of their profession. The only limitation they placed on their joining these groups was that they should investigate the group before they join it. Many people join an organization without due consideration of its aims and its background. The teacher who does this is not an asset to his community, because many people finding out he belongs to a particular club may assume it is a good one or the teacher would not have joined it. Thus he brings prestige to a group that may later prove unworthy of this distinction. If the organization is known to be a poor one, he injures not only his own standing in the community, but that of the other teachers as well. Therefore, it is the teacher's duty to discriminate between clubs that have high ideals and an interest in good government and those organizations that are narrow in their aims usually seeking only patronage for their followers. The latter group is not interested in community improvements that would benefit all. Its leaders are selfish and self-seeking in their objectives though many of their members do not realize this.

Many teachers are not aware of the fact that in most communities there are two distinct types of political clubs. One of which is organized by members of either political party and work in conjunction with the State Committee although it is autonomous in making decisions on its own program. The second type is organized just prior to the election and has only one purpose for existence—the election of a certain candidate or slate. These usually are dissolved after election or, if the candidate was victorious, continue on a limited basis always striving to increase the prestige of their candidate and to obtain patronage for their group.

Membership in political clubs stimulates interest in voting. It also keeps the membership informed on issues that are before the

legislature. Its meetings provide an opportunity for the teacher to mix with other members of the community and to work with them on projects of mutual interest. Activities of this type also bring the teacher in contact with the legislators who attend these functions. This improves teacher relationship.

Teachers should not join these groups for selfish narrow interests, or they might find themselves in a position of detriment to their own interests in the end. However, the teacher who is sincerely interested in the work done by these groups will find them rewarding. Their own standing in the community will be improved and they themselves will be rewarded by experiencing a feeling of mutual fellowship and service with their neighbors.

One hundred forty-eight legislators felt that teachers should campaign for the candidates of their own choice. Twenty-seven answered negatively, four were undecided and eight left the question unanswered. That an overwhelming majority of legislators felt this way is important because this expression of opinion assures teachers that their elected representatives would welcome their support if they would give it.

Several legislators stated it was the prerogative of every citizen to take an active part in supporting the candidate of his choice. Therefore, they implied that there was no question involved here because the teacher is a citizen and has the same rights as every other citizen on this matter.

The teachers' own attitude towards political participation is one that also needs evaluation. As individuals and as a group they have refused to take an active part in political activities. They have taken refuge behind the statement that they believe it would be unwise for them to undertake any political activities because of their profession.

The legislators have answered this objection by stating that teachers should campaign actively for the candidates of their choice as citizens, not as teachers. Apparently they believe the two roles are not synonymous and the actions of the citizen-teacher should not impair the prestige of the teacher-citizen.

One legislator stated that teachers should take part as long as it would not adversely affect their opportunity for promotion. This is another reason advanced for the hesitancy on the part of some teachers to engage in politics,—the fear of retribution. While one occasionally hears of teachers being persecuted for political activity, it is not as prevalent as teachers presume it to be. Teachers who are protected by tenure laws have little to fear in this regard. If the

majority of teachers engaged in political activities, this type of retribution would lessen and become a matter of little concern.

Today, telephoning constituents is an accepted campaign procedure. A well-organized group, led by a teacher, could competently handle this detail.

Writing and aiding in the planning of speeches is another important field where a teacher could be effective. Organizing rallies, planning house parties, aiding in arrangements for radio and T.V. programs are all conceivable areas where teachers would be of assistance. Planning the precinct coverage and automobile pool could also be handled by teachers. Many teachers could serve effectively as part of a speaking team discussing the issues involved in the campaign. Others might serve as chairmen of the meetings.

The teachers could aid in numerous ways during a campaign and the legislators, by their expression of opinion on this question, show that they would welcome their support.

Sixty-nine percent of the legislators indicated that they would consider teacher groups an aid in a political campaign. The work that could be contributed by an active organization is always of value to a candidate. The most helpful thing about group support is the numerous contacts it has with other citizens. However, group support can be a dangerous thing especially if the citizenry feels it is seeking possible favors for itself. The legislators apparently feel the teachers' aid would outweigh any adverse criticism that their support might give them. However, one legislator stated that teachers would not be an aid at the present time because of their inability to take a firm partisan stand. An indecisive group is of no help to anyone. Teachers, by intimating that they are afraid to take an active part in politics, show a lack of faith in democracy and reveal a feeling of inadequacy in attempting to assume the role of an active citizen.

Teachers who are alert realize that they should do more than vote in the elections. Voting is important. No one should question that. However, the various phases of an election campaign including getting out the vote are also important. Efficient campaign practices are what win elections. Excellent legislative records do not guarantee re-election.

Legislators must depend upon the loyalty and support of those for whom they have worked for aid during elections. Expensive advertising, radio and T.V. programs, campaign literature, and billboards are often out of the reach of the sincere able legislator. For him the personal appeal and effective work of his friends are necessary if he is to retain his office. He usually can depend upon the State

Committee to give him some publicity, but they in turn expect him to reciprocate by having his workers arrange joint meetings for those seeking higher offices. The legislator who is unable to obtain the support of his local constituents cannot expect to obtain much help from the State Committee. Teachers should be aware of these conditions and if they have had a good representative they should give him whatever aid they can.

A majority vote indicated that legislators felt that teachers would be an asset to their group of supporters during a political campaign and would work well with them. Teachers can be effective in many ways that the average campaign worker could not. Certainly their understanding of school problems and teacher reactions to them could be of aid in helping the legislator in his efforts to obtain more teacher support. Parents could have school issues presented to them by the legislator in a more effective manner if coached by the teacher who really understood the problems. It would not be necessary for the teacher to discuss the issues himself.

The teacher in working on a campaign committee must realize that he is working with other adults. He must be careful not to assume a superior attitude or to belittle the efforts of the other workers. While campaign headquarters often find rivals trying to gain control, the teacher must remain aloof from these entanglements. The success of the candidate should be the important thing—not who is the best worker. While workers do respect the teacher as a rule, they resent any implication that they are children. They also dislike the dogmatic personality, and if a teacher attempts to impose his will on the others, he will find bitter opposition. A friendly, genial attitude will dispel suspicion and earn for the teacher the understanding of the group.

The reactions of the legislators to the question of teacher help to legislative committees in research work reveal more than "Yes" or "No." They indicate a respect for teachers, a willingness to consult with them on problems and an indication that this type of assistance is needed. The legislator has a busy schedule filled with Committee hearings, party caucuses, regular legislative sessions, innumerable telephone calls and incessant demands upon his time for assistance from his constituents. There is little time for him to do individual research. His information on many items is gleaned from the various reports given at Committee Hearings. The time for checking facts presented is lacking. If he were able to turn to a group for assistance on a particular item, it would be of great help to the individual legislator and to his committee.

Teachers, because of their education, would be well qualified to assist committees on matters of research. Many teachers have done a great deal of this type of work for their local organizations and, therefore, are experienced. Would not a volunteer group of workers from teachers' organizations aiding the legislators on matters of civic importance be in an excellent position to promote better understanding between these groups? This would also refute the statements that teachers are interested in nothing but their own problems. Work of this type would not only help establish rapport with the legislators but it would be a service to the state.

There is no doubt that the legislative body of Massachusetts feels that teachers as a group should take more active part than they do in the political affairs of the Commonwealth. This is a challenge to teachers to group and exert a salutary influence on their community. They cannot risk the title of "second-class" citizens. They must, as an educated group, be sensitive to all political issues and take an increasingly active part in the affairs of State.

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CAN RETARDED ADULTS BE TREATED?

Jack M. Gootzeit and Anthony Lombardo

Retarded adults can be treated. Their receptiveness to vocational and skill training is increased by psychosocial and psychophysical treatment. Lack of attention and interest in the retarded has resulted in a lack of service to this population and their families. Until a few years ago, there was a complete absence of services beyond medical diagnosis, institutionalization, and C.R.M.D. classes for the higher functioning retarded child. Today some progress can be registered. Medical diagnosis has been put on a research basis; it is seeking answers to the origin of retardation. Diagnostic centers have been set up to give each patient and his family the most elaborate kind of medical diagnosis possible. This includes a medical, psychological, and social workup. For the most part, these diagnoses are offered to children only and have not as yet been extended to the retarded adult.

Treatment for low functioning retarded children has just begun. Classes have been set up by parent groups and have on occasion been sponsored by Boards of Education. The specialization of medical, social, and psychological treatment for the retarded is still not forthcoming from most of the professions.

Lack of good finger dexterity, poor coordination, and sensory-motor difficulties amongst many clients has not resulted in medical workups and corrective prescriptions or treatment efforts. Physical and speech therapy is almost non-existent for the retarded. Psychiatrists and psychologists have rejected efforts in treatment of the retarded. To most of them retardation means a small cortex. A small cortex has a small conscious surface, therefore retarded people are supposed to have weak egos. Counseling and analysis are thought to have little meaning for the retarded.

Some treatment for the retarded adult has developed in the form of a sheltered workshop movement. This movement has become especially strong in the past five years. Most workshops have been set up along one of two lines. The first line is basically that of a care center which occupies its clients with some contract work, arts and crafts, and recreation. This type of effort releases family members so that they can work or concentrate on other duties that need attending to. The second line of workshop development has been to screen out retarded who can be trained and placed in competitive

industry; and to place the more limited producers in sheltered contract work. In this type of setup clients who cannot meet minimum production standards are not serviced. In both of these lines of vocational treatment work-skills dominate the objectives of the workshops. An evaluation is made to find out what skills the client has. If the client has some work aptitude he is then trained in one or a few aspects of contract work. If he becomes high functioning because of his exposure to work (and skill training) an effort for selective placement is made.

Our experience in White Plains has shown that when the major effort is along vocational lines alone, very few retarded clients move beyond what exposure to work alone would accomplish. Along this line of treatment is the "if the client has it—we can teach him to work" attitude. But in White Plains we have found that psychosocial and psychophysical treatment changes the client's ability to respond to training. We find that the more "holistic" we treat the client the greater his skill and productive movement. Our experience is basically clinical and we have not set up rigid research lines as yet. However, we shall try to illustrate our recent experiences with the evaluation of a case history.

Before going on to this history, a few other points should be made. Classically most effort in training of the retarded has been either an effort to give them academic training and failing this, the retarded were given activities of daily living. Skill training has been empirically directed by great repetition of the activity itself. Little if anything has been done to analyze the components of each skill deficit and fitting it into a holistic pattern.

1. How much of a skill deficit is due to disuse (non-use) of a muscle or nerve?
2. How much sensory motor incoordination is due to disuse?
3. Is a client's inability to attend (pay attention, concentrate) due to disuse factors, or maldevelopment, or some social problem at home; or have social attitudes and persecution caused such low-frustration tolerance levels in many retarded clients that they withdraw or become aggressive quickly and fail to attend?
4. Is a weak ego a physiological factor, or can authoritarian attitudes lead to a loss of autonomy on the part of retarded people?

All of the above questions can be researched unto themselves. However, at the Sheltered Workshop in White Plains these questions are a guide to our clinical work with each and every client. Because we cannot always get our answers from a research statistic and each

client may have some or all factors operating simultaneously, we continually look for neurosensory, muscular, and other disuse patterns. We continually try to find out whether we are dealing with non-development or mal-development factors. We are also keenly interested in the effect of social factors on the client. We can't wait for research results on the front line.

A holistic and situational approach is not the essence of the Vocational Diagnostic Evaluation, (D.E.) Personal Adjustment Training, (P.A.T.) and skill training given in most sheltered workshops today. We find that attention to the clients skills and performance in the shop is enough to give us a true behavior or vocational prognosis. P.A.T. or D.E. are not basically geared to effect or bolster change. They are oriented toward conditioning and treating change in a very limited sense. Skill and P.A.T. helps orient many clients and moves them into a productive effort but they do little to change them in a true treatment sense; and therefore, does not introduce training at the point that treatment has had a maximum effect on him. In most instances treatment (short or long term) must precede or accompany the formalized training and evaluation now outlined in D.E. and P.A.T. Almost without exception, every client and his family at the White Plains, New York workshop has needed a "holistic" treatment approach.

The emergence of holistic treatment for the retarded adult has forced practitioners in the field of the retarded to develop special skills and lines of treatment. This has also required special lines of professional education. As we have already mentioned the medical and psychosocial professions have not given adequate attention or effort to the special needs of the retarded. This is especially true in regard to the retarded adult (most efforts until now were for retarded children only). As a result, these professions have not developed their specific techniques in terms of the retarded. Because of this lack we have been forced to develop lines of treatment on our own. As a pattern of treatment emerges from our experience we realize we still need to recruit medical and psychiatric effort to reinforce and strengthen the total effect of our treatment. For example, the introduction of physical and drug therapy on a day to day basis will guarantee even better results than we are now observing.

Emerging with our line of treatment is the need for professionals to specialize in the retarded. This development raises many problems.

1. The need for professional, governmental (city, state, federal) recognition of these specialties.

2. Recognition of the line of diagnosis and treatment so that payment for these services (testing, situational therapy and diagnosis, counseling) can be obtained from agency and governmental resources when they are aimed at specific vocational objectives.

3. Lack of recruitment to the field of adequately trained professionals.

4. Lack of a core program and university participation in training in this area.

5. Poor pay programs—these programs are not commensurate with pay in the teaching or psychosocial professions. Education of boards of directors are essential.

6. A core program must contain training in physiology, psychology, sociology, social work, industrial arts, rehabilitation, and human relations.

We now realize that our approach is not distinctive to the retarded but can be basically applied to all dependent disabled (those needing continuous and long term care for the majority of its members) such as Cerebral Palsy, Muscular Dystrophy, Multiple Sclerosis, and the aged.

Some services A.H.R.C. Sheltered Workshop and Training Center, White Plains, New York offers beyond D.E. and P.A.T.:

1. Case work
2. Camp
3. Situational diagnosis and therapy which includes:
 - a) observation of clients responses to environmental changes in the shop and interpretation of its behavioral significance.
 - b) manipulation of the workshop environment and the client's roles and status in order to treat behavioral pathologies.
 - c) Counseling
 1. Directive
 2. Non-directive
 3. Group & Individual role playing
 4. Home visits.
 5. Group work.
 6. Maintaining clients who would otherwise be institutionalized in the community.
 7. Weaning clients from institutions back into the community.
 8. Recreational Circles.
 9. Parent's Club.

We must re-emphasize that most of these services are offered the client and his family and not the client alone. To illustrate the need for a holistic approach we will now present a case study.

JOHN

John is a nineteen year old young man who was admitted to our sheltered workshop about fifteen months ago. He came here upon his discharge from Wassaic where he was institutionalized from March 1946 to October 1955. The client had an I.Q. of 45 in 1945.

John is the first child of a family of four children. His brother is borderline retarded. John also has a ten year old sister and a younger brother of four who cannot talk as yet.

Mr. John is a strong disciplinarian who loves and tries to understand his children. Mr. John is a mechanic but works as a night watchman in a large mill.

Diagnostic Evaluation 2-3-58 to 3-2-58

John was quite eager to be admitted to the workshop. He talked of the kind of work he did and would like to do. At the State School he had been in the academic program and participated in the wood workshop. While on convalescent care he had had a job, but when prompted to ask for a raise the employer dismissed him. Since then he has been unemployed.

John did well in most of our evaluation areas. As a bench hand, he demonstrated ability to operate foot and hand press machines. He did assembly but with difficulty. He used hand tools quite well. In food services he did well in jobs requiring gross movement such as bussing and sweeping, but became disinterested in dishwashing. He is highly distractable, and needs a good deal of supervision.

John's attendance was excellent. Even in very inclement weather he showed up for work. He was punctual and neatly dressed. John's weaknesses are his inability to relate to his peers and adults. He is constantly seeking demonstrations of acceptance. Many times he would verbalize these feelings by saying, "no one loves me," and "I'm going to kill myself," "no one cares," etc. There is a great deal of tension in his household. His father is quite authoritarian, John is kept away from association with members of the opposite sex and must take a very sharp line of behavior.

The outlook for John for the near future is employment in a sheltered setting. There is no indication that he would be able to hold on to a job in competitive environment until he matures socially and emotionally.

About this time John's parents began to become active in the

workshop parents club. They began to relate in a few ways to other parents. They learned that other parents had much of their problems. Some of the pressures on John were lifted and he became happier and more receptive in the shop.

During this client's first experience in P.A.T. the following developed:

"This client does not relate well to most male workers. He is continually in the presence of young women and on rare occasions is there interplay with male workers. When he likes someone (male or female) he runs his hands over them. He has finally identified with the shop and wanted to stay during his family's vacation. His relation to authority (supervisors, foreman) is one of withdrawal and attempting to complete a given act in secret. John seems exhibitionistic. He continually tries to draw attention to himself by loud outbursts and frequent physical demonstrations. He continually grooms himself and leaves work to socialize with the girls in the production area. His attention span (in terms of ability to concentrate on the work being done) has grown from one to a maximum of two hours per day." John can do many gross jobs well. He can sweep, mop, move objects and hand trucks. When John returned from vacation in September, he was given a concentrated period of counseling and role playing. Several counseling sessions with the father resulted in a relaxation of the client's tensions. We isolated the client from others and gradually increased his work tolerance, concentration, and speed. We found that this client would progress on a steady upward plane but that he would become disorganized and fail when his father had limited or punished him at home. Violent actions on the client's part resulted from these events at home. Once John hit a client when that client tried to help him. John said, "I don't need any help." After a counseling session it turned out that the night before Mr. John had given John a haircut at home. He had taken a shears and cut the client's hair. The client who continually grooms his hair felt devastated. The next day his tension found violent expression along the lines we have just cited.

Special efforts toward Mr. and Mrs. John were made by our case workers in home contacts. Indirect concentration on the parents were made during parents club meetings. Counseling sessions were held with Mr. John. Gradually parental pressure was reduced. We were able to intensify our situational therapy in the shop by manipulating the client's status position. As the client became more productive we gave him praise and he began to receive recognition by male as well as female co-workers. As his attitude became more

relaxed his productivity increased almost proportionately. Finally our social worker organized recreational circles and John was included. Despite apprehension and objections on his father's part, John was permitted to participate. During the first period after his vacation, John's attention, speed, and productivity increased at a steady pace. It rose from 7c an hour the second week, to 39c an hour the tenth week. John's progress then plateaued. With the advent of the recreational circle he again began to move productively and emotionally. We have recently requested a brief extension of P.A.T. time before we will try to selectively place this client.

This client has been treated for a period of over fifteen months. Classical D.E., P.A.T., and Vocational Training was inadequate. Only when we took a holistic and therapeutic approach were we able to move forward with this client.

CONCLUSION

The above case study is only one example of treatment for a retarded adult. Every one of our clients and their families need treatment of this sort. When it is given the retarded adult becomes more productive vocationally and has a greater and greater chance to make a fuller contribution to society. We can present every one of our cases in this light. All have benefited from treatment. This case, however, was presented because movement has occurred radically. This client has moved from a low functioning retarded into a borderline competitive range of production. Not all of our cases have moved so far. About 25% of our cases are moving as rapidly as this one has via this treatment approach. The rest respond but move slower. All are responding in one degree or another. We need a psychiatric and medical contribution. We need recognition by University and governmental agencies. We need payment for our services. We need recognition of our specialties and pay scales for our professionals commensurate with their education and contribution. We need to recruit and train new professionals in this area. Our little effort has moved treatment for the retarded a giant step forward. However, we must bring up the big guns and organize our efforts better. If this is done treatment will become more effective than it is now. This is only the beginning.

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THE INDIAN STUDENT IN COLLEGE

W. W. Ludeman

Young people of Indian blood are being encouraged and subsidized by state and Federal Government funds to attend college as a part of a nationwide drive to convert reservation living over onto a more orthodox community basis. It is recognized that this process of weaning the Indian away from his reservation where he has had security, poor as it is, will be a long and difficult task. Students of Indian life including many leaders of the Indian race also believe that advanced education of the youth will be a vital key in the total rehabilitation of these people.

SURVEY INDIAN STUDENTS

Southern State Teachers College in South Dakota has registered many Indian students for a long time. This study covers students of Indian blood over a period of 33 years. Their college careers were analyzed to discover how long they stayed in college, their average grade point scholastic record, and what they are doing at the present time. From this data certain conclusions and recommendations on advanced education of Indian students are made with a hope that it will have value in the future direction of the training of the Indian people to fit into the plans for rehabilitation.

DATA ON INDIAN COLLEGE STUDENTS 1925-1958

INDIAN STUDENT TENURE VS SCHOLARSHIP LEVEL

No.	Tenure	Av. H.P. per Cr. Hr.
36	attended 1 quarter or less88
7	" 2 quarters76
16	" 3 quarters82
13	" 4 quarters	1.23
3	" 5 quarters99
10	" 6 quarters	1.19
4	" 7 quarters93
4	" 8 quarters	1.55
7	" 9 quarters	1.26
2	" 10 quarters	1.41
1	" 11 quarters	1.18
9	" 12 quarters or more	1.54
<hr/> Total 112		Av. 1.14

This study covers 112 cases and the data in the table gives evidence that the tenure of the Indian student tends to be short with 36 attending one quarter or less and nearly one-half of the total number attending one full school year of three quarters or less. The fact that the average scholarship of these short lived students was quite low probably accounts in major part for their brief college attendance.

The survey shows that the Indian students who stayed in college beyond six quarters or two school years gathered scholastic power and turned in good average records. Those who completed the full four years of college for the degree earned a 1.54 honor point average which hovers well beyond the C level and leans toward the B.

WHAT INDIAN STUDENTS ARE DOING

Follow-up records on these 112 Indian students show that the former students are engaged in many occupations some of very high responsibility. One is a reservation superintendent, three are U. S. Government employees, one is a commercial airplane pilot, 18 are in teaching, two are ministers, some are secretaries, two are in nursing, many are housewives and mothers, several are in vocational shops, one is a draftsman, while others have taken up common labor. The study shows that those who stayed in college longest have the top positions in the field at this time.

SUMMARY

This study of the Indian student in college leads us to several vital conclusions.

1. That every effort should be made to carefully select better grade students and hold them in college for longer tenure. This not only adds up toward higher average scholarship but it leads to better positions in placement after college is completed. Scholastic irresponsibility has been a stumbling block to college students generally but it is a most definite deterrent among Indian students.
2. The Indian student has a serious inferiority complex. They appear to feel that it is impossible for them to do as well as other students. The Indian student needs stimulation and motivation based upon praise and encouragement. The study shows that he can do well accepted college work if he is kept in school long enough to get into the full swing.
3. The Indian arrives at the college with a short background. Life on a reservation in most cases did not furnish him with all

he needs to build further education. When we can bring Indian youth into regular communities and into public high schools, then they will be provided with more orthodox backgrounds for making successful higher education careers.

4. The Indian student tends toward attitudes of dependence. Too many come to the college to get some type of monetary income from government sources. They enroll late, miss far too many of their scheduled classes and effect a touch of sympathy from instructors to offset these infractions of regulation.
5. In a final analysis it can be said and this study proves that if the better Indian students are directed into college, that if they can be held to substantial tenure, that if they will assume their share of responsibility in the educational process, that if they would assert personal independence instead of dependence, then we can expect better results from them in higher education and in the long run the Indian youth will take his place in leadership in America.

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COMMUNITY RESTRICTIONS ON TEACHER BEHAVIOR

John H. Chilcott

Even though a considerable improvement (from the standpoint of teachers) has been underway during the past quarter-century¹ in eliminating community restrictions on teacher behavior, these restrictions still exist. In a study carried on at the University of Oregon under the auspices of Northwestern Regional Cooperative Program in Education Administration in 1956, a number of teacher taboos were uncovered.

Thirty-one residents and twenty-five teachers of Timber Town² were interviewed with regard to their expectations for teacher behavior in the community. The teachers were also interrogated with respect to what they *thought* the community should expect of them. The three sets of expectations were then analyzed and compared.

A majority of the residents of the community expected teachers to dress conservatively, attend church regularly, read more than most other people, and be active in community youth groups such as the Boy Scouts. Teachers were not supposed to use profanity at any time, or tell "risque" jokes. Other expectations, though not as rigid³ included no smoking around the school, use of alcoholic beverages (50%), social dancing in "dives," participation in politics, or dating their students by unmarried teachers. A majority of these people felt that the community was quite liberal with regard to the restrictions placed on teachers.

When the behavior of the community members was compared with the expected behavior of the teachers a relationship was found to exist. Three types of behavior were tested using the X^2 test of independence and all three were found to be related. Those members of the community who smoked tended to approve of teachers smoking; those members of the community who did not smoke tended to disapprove of teachers smoking. Likewise those members of the community who approved of teachers drinking also drank

¹ For an interesting account of community restrictions placed on teachers 25 years ago see: T. Minehan, "The Teacher Goes Job-Hunting," *The Nation* 1927, Vol. 124, p. 606.

² A fictitious name for a city of approximately 12,000 population located in the northwest region of the United States.

³ Rigid here is defined in terms of consensus. The greater the consensus of opinion the greater the rigidity; the less the consensus the less the rigidity of the expectation.

while those who did not approve of teachers drinking were the "Tee-totalers." Those members of the community who attended church regularly expected teachers to do likewise. There was some indication that the behavior of the individual in the community dictated the expected behavior of the teacher.

For the most part teachers expected the same behavior from their colleagues as did the community. In a few cases they were more rigid than the community. More teachers than community residents expected teachers to attend church regularly and restrict their social dancing. Fellow teachers were more permissive when it came to drinking, smoking, and taking an active part in community youth groups.

The teachers entertained quite a few misconceptions about what the community expected of them. They were especially incorrect in their perception of community expectations relating to smoking, drinking, dancing, telling "risque" jokes, student-faculty dating, and participation in community youth groups. The teachers were unaware that the community was as permissive as it was in allowing teachers to smoke. Nor were they aware that they were so severely restricted as to where they could drink. A third of the teachers did not know how the community felt about social dancing; another third felt that the community didn't want teachers to dance; while nobody in the community objected to teachers dancing. The teachers were also incorrect in assuming that the community would permit them to tell "risque" jokes. Although most of the community wanted teachers to be active in community youth groups, the teachers felt that they didn't "have to." Though the teachers as a group correctly perceived that most of the community would not restrict the behavior of an unmarried teacher, some of the teachers thought that the community restricted student-faculty dating more than the community actually did. The faculty perception of community expectations by the teachers was greatest when the teachers' expectations of themselves differed the most from the community expectations of the teachers.

During the course of interviewing the teachers, it became apparent that they were more concerned with the expectations of their colleagues than they were with the expectations of the community residents. In the process of conforming to the standards set down by their colleagues, teachers tended to project these standards into the standards set down by the community. An excellent example of this process occurred when the teachers who felt that they shouldn't have to enter into the activities of community youth groups also incorrectly perceived that the community felt the same

way they did when in fact the community did feel that teachers should be actively engaged in youth work outside of school.

There is a growing tendency everywhere to treat the teacher as another normally acceptable citizen who has certain professional skills used in teaching.⁴ With the exception of a few communities a teacher no longer lives in a fishbowl. As long as a teacher manifests some discretion in his choice of friends, his behavior, and his attitudes, he can live a perfectly normal life.

⁴ R. K. Hall, N. Hans and J. H. Lavkery's, "Social Position of Teachers," *The Yearbook of Education*, 1953, Eyans Bros., Ltd., London, p. 14.

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SHOULD TEACHERS STRIKE? AN UNANSWERED QUESTION

Russell C. Oakes

THE EXTENT OF TEACHERS' STRIKES

In September, 1958, the Japanese Teachers' Union, 600,000 strong, called a teachers' strike in protest against the government's merit rating system. Reportedly, teacher members in sixteen out of forty-three prefectures struck, and teachers in twenty-three prefectures held mass protest meetings.¹

In the United States such mass action by teachers would be almost unthinkable as well as impractical. Major American teachers' groups have hesitantly repudiated such action: some by silently ignoring the issue; one, the American Federation of Teachers, by adhering to its often restated no-strike policy. With the control of the educational system not only in the hands of the state governments but more often than not delegated to local school boards, no pan-American issue for which most teachers might strike has been raised. Teachers' strikes in the United States have, therefore, been local in nature.

Between 1918 and 1954, only ten years passed without at least one strike of teachers in the United States. Six of these were boom years of the twenties; the other four, 1931, 1932, 1938, and 1939, were years in which both teachers' salaries and the percent of the national income allotted to public schools were high when compared to the cost of living.

During the depths of the depression, teachers in a number of hard hit Pennsylvania boroughs, particularly in and around the "Wyoming Valley" area, struck to obtain back salaries which the communities had often failed to pay for months on end. Following both World War I and World War II, teachers responded to inflation and lagging salaries with vigorous salary action in many localities. Where these actions were thwarted, teachers sometimes struck. In 1946, 1947, and 1948, almost 12,000 teachers in forty-eight communities struck for an average of 9.6 days apiece. After two years of respite during which strikes of teachers decreased to a few each year, 4,510 teachers in ten communities went out on strike for an average of 12.1 days in 1951. There have been over one hundred and twenty teachers' strikes in the United States since 1918.

¹ *The New York Times*, September 16, 1958.

AN INVESTIGATION POSED

In 1954, when the author planned an investigation of these strikes, he aimed at not only determining some of the causal factors but also some of the public, professional, and legal reaction to them.² He was not surprised to find that teachers in many communities struck in response to economic hardship brought on in periods of depression and inflation. But since teachers in many other communities had refrained from striking under the pressure of similar economic conditions, it seemed evident that other factors were at work in the specific localities in which teachers' strikes occurred and had helped to precipitate them. What, then, were some of these other factors?

SOME CAUSAL FACTORS

A quick summary of causal conditions, other than the economic, as indicated by a study of the teachers' strikes by the author and through an examination of causal conditions as cited by articulate members of the teaching profession follows.

First, there seemed to be a general lack of faith in or disinterest in the institution of public education within communities where the strikes occurred. This was reflected in a general decrease in the real financial support given to local education.

Second, some evidence was found which indicated that the public failed to understand the needs of the teachers, financial and otherwise. This, in turn, apparently resulted in humiliating poverty for teachers who may then have resisted the treatment accorded them by striking to improve their welfare.³

A third causal factor was to be found in the failure of teacher efforts to improve their salary and welfare through bargaining over the conference table. This resulted partially from complications arising out of outmoded tax limitations, inflexible city charters, fiscal dependence of boards of education on other governmental groups, and political pressures from vested interests in local government and local industry.

Another factor which probably contributed to teachers' strikes

² Russell C. Oakes, *Public and Professional Reactions to Teachers' Strikes, 1918-1954*, New York University (Ed.D. thesis) 1958, pp. 452-454. See also Bernard Yabroff and Lily Mary David, "Collective Bargaining and Work Stoppages Involving Teachers," *Monthly Labor Review*, May 1953, p. 8 and Table 3.

³ George S. Counts, "Socio-Economic Forces in Teachers' Strikes," *The Phi Delta Kappan*, April 1947, pp. 350, 352.

was the prolonged but inexorable buildup of strong teacher organizations coupled with the realization of certain teacher groups that here, in the teachers' strike for the improvement of teacher welfare, was a way to use these organizations effectively.⁴ The road leading to this realization was long and devious. It provides a focus for this paper.

GROWING TEACHERS' ORGANIZATIONS AND STRIKES OF TEACHERS

Study of the historical backgrounds of freedom of teaching in the public schools of the United States and the growth of teachers' professional organizations served to highlight some of the other causal factors. While a number of eastern State Teachers Associations and the National Teachers Association, precursor of the N.E.A., emerged along with the growing public school systems during the mid-nineteenth century era, all of them neglected teacher welfare to a large extent. This may well have resulted from a preoccupation with the larger tasks of upgrading teacher training, expanding and extending the public school system, and building the thousands of local school districts into uniform state school systems. At any rate, during the first fifty years of the public school system, public school teachers were left to defend their "academic" freedom and to improve their low economic and social status as best they could. In the face the strong currents of evangelicalism and sometimes religious bigotry on the school district level, racial prejudice in both the North and the South, widespread local belief in the "spoils system," and a sort of deferent obeisance to unfettered capitalism among many of the intellectuals of the middle class, teacher welfare and academic freedom had a difficult time of it.

Perhaps emulating labor, teachers in a number of cities began to organize and look to their welfare in a number of cities toward the end of the century. As Chicago teachers attempted to form a National Teachers Federation, the N.E.A. lost ground, its membership falling from 13,656 in 1899 to 4,542 in 1904.⁵ At about the same time, teachers in a number of cities affiliated with the A. F. of L.: by this time a strong and growing labor union under Sam Gompers. The battle between labor and the N.E.A. was joined, and, in 1916, the American Federation of Teachers, dedicated to furthering teacher welfare as well as professionalism, was formed by teacher groups

⁴ Loc. cit.

⁵ Willard S. Elsbree, *The American Teacher*, American Book Co., New York, 1939, p. 503. *N.E.A. Proceedings*, 1905, p. 731.

from Chicago, Gary, New York City, Scranton, Oklahoma, and Washington, D. C.⁶

The N.E.A., possibly spurred on by this competition, issued reports looking toward the improvement of teacher welfare in 1905, 1913, and 1918. When wartime and post-war inflation drastically cut the buying power of the teachers' salary, the N.E.A. and the A.F.T. entered into what seems to have been a competition for membership.

The first wave of teachers' strikes in the United States broke in this milieu of competitive action. While these strikes could not be directly attributed to the N.E.A. or the A.F.T., it seems probable that the growth of teachers' organizations, examples of militant action among some labor organizations, the new devotion of teachers' organizations to teacher welfare, and word of teachers' strikes coming from abroad each played a part in lending some American teachers courage to use a technique new to them, the strike.

Teachers in Memphis (Tennessee), Linton (Indiana), Charlotte-town (Prince Edward Island, Canada), Lebanon (Illinois), Newport (Kentucky), and Zeoring (Iowa) went out on strike between 1918 and 1922. Teachers in Cleveland (Ohio), Palmyra (New Jersey), and Norwalk (Connecticut) reportedly threatened to strike. There were reports of talk of strike among teachers in New York City and Chicago. But with the advent of the prosperity of the 'twenties, teachers' strikes dropped from the picture until depression descended on the "Wyoming Valley" communities of Pennsylvania.

During the twenty-five years that followed World War I, both the N. E. A. and the A. F. T. gained in strength and effectiveness, despite the fact that the latter had experienced severe internal troubles and had struggled against the prevailing anti-labor attitudes of America's middle class groups from whom teachers are usually recruited. While the N.E.A. grew throughout the nation, the greater part of the strength of the A.F.T. came from highly industrial areas, especially in the north-east and north-central areas of the country. By the time World War II ended and inflation struck anew, local teachers affiliated with both organizations were strongly organized. In a number of communities where local conditions militated strongly against the improvement of educational quality and teacher welfare, teachers used this strength and struck.

While little more than one-half of America's teachers belonged

⁶ The Commission on Educational Reconstruction, *Organizing the Teaching Profession*, The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1955, p. 27.

to these organizations, most of the striking teachers were affiliated with one group or the other. While the N.E.A. members numbered approximately ten times those of the A.F.T., sixty-eight percent of all the teachers involved in teachers' strikes of the period 1940-1954 were affiliated with the A.F.T. and only twenty-three percent with professional associations, presumably the N.E.A. and state associations.⁷ This does not absolve the latter group. Many of the smaller strikes were by teachers affiliated with these professional groups. The A.F.T. strikes took place mostly in large cities. Both groups had apparently been indirectly instrumental in furthering teachers' strikes, and both groups had failed to give adequate leadership to teachers in helping to overcome other local conditions which acted as contributory causes.

SOME PUBLIC REACTIONS

Despite a hands off attitude of both the N.E.A. and the A.F.T., strong sympathy from many teachers and administrators in the profession and some vocal support from local PTA's and other of the general public, the articulate voice of the public, notably the press, cried out loudly against striking teachers. The teachers were, at one time or another, accused of striking against the state illegally, victimizing children, violating contracts, disregarding the poor financial circumstances of the district, and of following small groups of malcontents, bolsheviks, communists, or radicals. The silence of that portion of the press which might have succored the teachers served only to enhance the cries against them. Only an occasional voice came to their defense.⁸

When a Minnesota court ruled that Minneapolis janitors had a legal right to strike,⁹ the Minnesota state legislature followed the lead of a number of other states and enacted a statute prohibiting strikes of public workers, specifically referring to public school employees. Although strikes of public employees were historically deemed illegal because they might endanger public health or safety, the Connecticut Supreme Court of Errors had extended this to include

⁷ Bernard Yabroff and Lily Mary David, "Collective Bargaining and Work Stoppages Involving Teachers," *Monthly Labor Review*, May 1953, p. 8. Bureau of Labor Statistics supplied 1953-54 data.

⁸ Oakes, *op. cit.*, Chapter XXIV, "The Public Reaction."

⁹ Judge John A. Weeks, *Order* 478717. District Court, Fourth Judicial District; County of Hennepin, State of Minnesota in the case of "The Board of Education of the City of Minneapolis vs. Public School Employees, Union Local No. 63, A. F. of L. and others," January 22, 1951, pp. 1-19.

public welfare.¹⁰ Since then the supreme courts of both New Hampshire and Rhode Island, following the lead, have specifically declared strikes against public policy.¹¹ Thus the public, through legal action, had closed the door to strikes of teachers for the time being. They could only be reopened by permissive legislation.

A QUESTION FOR TEACHERS TO CONSIDER

It remains for teachers to consider an important question. Are there conditions under which a teachers' strike might be morally and ethically proper? An affirmative answer would make it morally mandatory for teachers to seek either the removal of existing anti-strike statutes from the books or the passage of legislation which would permit teachers to strike. A close examination of the factors underlying teachers' strikes will point up the necessity for as well as the difficulty of answering this question. Apparently the A.F.T. has already answered the question in the affirmative, for it is reportedly seeking the elimination of anti-strike legislation from state statutes.¹² The N.E.A. staff has appraised the legal aspects of the situation properly.¹³ It would not seem prudent, however, for the professional staffs of either the N.E.A. or state associations to take a firm stand on the controversial aspects of this situation without first gaining the consent and direction of the teachers they represent. The next step is up to the teachers.

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¹⁰ *Norwalk Teachers' Association v. Board of Education of the City of Norwalk*, 138, Connecticut, 261.

¹¹ *Manchester v. Manchester Teachers Guild and a.*, 100, New Hampshire, 507.

¹² *The New York Times*, August 30, 1958. As a positive step, the A.F.T. is also backing collective bargaining legislation for public workers.

¹³ "Teachers and Collective Bargaining," *Research Bulletin*, April 1958, p. 49.